FELLOWSHIP

December 1944 Vol. X—No. 12

CHRIST, COME DOWN

From very high,
From very far,
The Lord Christ comes
To our lost star.
From very deep,
From very wide,
He crosses, at
The Christmastide,
The fields of space
That us divide.
"Let there be light!"
At once there fell
A shaft of truth,
A mystic spell,
Upon men's greed,
Upon men's pride.
Lord Christ, come down
With us to dwell—
This year come down
To Hell.

—Edith Lovejoy Pierce

THIS MONTH:

The People Can Turn the Tide
By JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

•

A Philosophy for Post-war Pacifism
By WALTER GEORGE MUELDER

•

The Power of Non-violence
By RICHARD B. GREGG

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The Second Christmas
By H. K. FORAANDH

•

Some Won't March Down Fifth Avenue
By H. ROBERTA WHITE

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John Haynes Holmes

THE Reverend Miles Bellum was writing his Christmas sermon—or rather *trying* to write it! His troubles had begun with his text, for the Christmas story didn't seem to fit the message of war, war to the knife, war to "unconditional surrender," which he had been preaching so zealously since Pearl Harbor day, but always with inward perturbation of spirit on Christmas Sundays. The standard text, "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, goodwill to men"—this was impossible for his purposes. You can't get a war sermon out of the angel song! Sears makes that plain in his famous Christmas hymn, where on this very text he writes:

And man, at war with man, hears not
The love-song which they bring:
O hush your noise, ye men of strife,
And hear the angels sing!

His next thought was of the Sermon on the Mount. But Dr. Bellum had been avoiding this Sermon in recent years. It's just as well not to remind men of what Jesus said in that great address. "Resist not evil," turn the other cheek, walk the second mile, "love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you"—such sayings are terribly embarrassing in times like these. It is always possible to argue that Jesus didn't mean what he said, or that he didn't intend these maxims to be applied in practical everyday life—that they were an *ad interim* ethics, or a sheer counsel of perfection. But somehow or other, this sort of argument never sounds convincing. Then there are the words, spoken to Jesus's disciples when he wanted them to "do more than others." But better not refer to them at all—at least until the war is over!

"Perhaps I'd better tell the story of the Good Samaritan again," cogitated Miles Bellum. What would the Samaritan have done had he come upon the thieves actually attacking their victim? Well—what *would* he have done? What would *Jesus* have done? Beaten them up, killed them, mutilated them? He wouldn't have passed by on the other side, we can be sure of that. But he might have done something as dramatic and unexpected and effective in that situation on the Jericho road as what he did so dramatically, unexpectedly, and effectively in the case of the woman taken in adultery. Jesus had amazing spiritual resources. He seldom did the conventional thing. He would have saved that man, but had no blood upon his own hands.

Of course, there's always the text, "I came not to send peace but a sword." "But I've used that so often," said Bellum to himself, "and somehow it never seems to go down. It's ridiculous to argue that Jesus's whole mission on earth was to bring a sword, to spread warfare far and wide over the earth! And it's so awkward to stop reading the Bible passage with the 34th verse, and not go on and read the verses that make so plain what Jesus was really saying—that his gospel was uncompromising, and was certain, therefore, to 'set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother . . . and a man's foes shall be they of his own household.' When a man teaches 'resist not evil,' and 'love your enemies,' this is of course just the thing that happens, for instance, with pacifists and non-pacifists in the churches today. No, this is a dangerous text," said Bellum, "I'd better not lug it in at Christmastide, with the angel song in our ears."

"How about the money-changers in the Temple"? was Bellum's next thought. "That's a good story! Yes, as far as it goes! But it doesn't seem to go very far. Overturning a few tables, and scattering a few sheep and oxen in a blaze of wrath against religious hypocrisy, is a feeble argument for blasted cities and blazing homes and slaughtered men, women and children—for war and all its modern horrors. And somehow it seems to fade away into insignificance before the spectacle of Jesus on the cross, praying that the Roman soldiers who crucified him might be forgiven, since they knew not what they did. No, this episode is terribly overworked—and it doesn't fit into the Christmas spirit anyhow."

Well, what was Miles Bellum going to do? He had to have a Christmas sermon. So awkward—to have Jesus thrust at you in this way, when the all-important thing is to win this war! What an embarrassment the Nazarene is, especially to a minister who proposes to do his part in the war! There Jesus stands—a lonely and sublime figure, on whose head you can't fit a helmet, in whose hand you can't place a rifle, in whose voice you can't hear the cry of battle. If you could only forget Jesus! And you can—as a matter of fact you do—on most Sundays of the year! But on Christmas Sunday—how can you forget or ignore him on that day? Or silence the words he spoke, and the song the angels sang when he was born?

Late into the night the Rev. Miles Bellum wrestled with these questions, and found no answer. As the hour drew on to midnight, a great weariness seemed to settle down upon his soul. A desperation also, for he simply had to have that sermon. On the Christmas Sunday the people would all be there, eager for the message which would bring them comfort and good cheer. "The sheep lift up their heads, and are not fed!" Was he going to fulfill that forbidding prophecy?

Feverishly Miles Bellum paced his study. In an almost frightened mood, he sat himself down again at his desk. His hand suddenly touched the Bible. A strange thought crept into his mind. Why confine himself to the Gospels? Why not turn to the Epistles for a text? It seemed odd to refer to Paul and not Jesus at the Christmastide. But extremity knows no restraint. His fingers rustled through the pages. *Luke, John, Acts*—the first chapter of *Acts*, the eighth, the ninth! . . . What is this?

And as he journeyed, he came near Damascus; and suddenly there shone round about him a light from heaven. And he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?

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Oppose Conscription

The 22nd annual convention of the National Council of Catholic Women declared:

"Working for a permanent peace and hoping for a permanent international organization to insure it, we nevertheless oppose permanent compulsory military service until and unless the need for a large permanent American army is demonstrated by the complete breakdown of a security program consonant with American traditions and aspirations for peace."

FELLOWSHIP

THE JOURNAL OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

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The People Can Turn the Tide

By JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

IN the opening months of 1927 the United States appeared to be headed for war with Mexico. The State Department and President Coolidge were at loggerheads with the Mexican Government in a conflict between it and 22 oil companies in the United States owning properties in Mexico. The revolutionary Mexican administration was determined to regain for the Mexican people the ownership of their national resources in oil. There were other questions, too, such as difficulties with the Roman Catholic Church.

On January 13 the *New York World* said in an editorial: "The stage is set for very serious things and if the American people want peace they will have to begin to fight for it now. They cannot trust either to the good intentions or to the wisdom of the State Department. For the State Department is clearly and unmistakably looking for trouble."

On January 22, President Coolidge declared through the White House "spokesman" that the "confiscation of the inalienable property rights of American citizens cannot be arbitrated."

However, the people of the United States still remembered World War I clearly enough to be dead set against any more war at that time. In these difficult circumstances the heads of the American Federation of Labor, the Federal Council of Churches, and 30 organizations affiliated with the National Council for the Prevention of War voiced vigorous appeals to the President, Congress, and the press in favor of conciliatory action toward Mexico. More than a hundred professors of political science and international law from 43 universities, and 450 prominent leaders in other walks of life signed open letters to the President. Telegrams and letters from all over the country poured into Washington in unprecedented volume, demanding arbitration instead of war.

The Senate voted 79 to 0 in favor of a resolution for arbitration, and then a few months later the President sent a new ambassador to Mexico City with instructions to effect a peaceable settlement of all the issues. He sent Dwight W. Morrow, who followed through on this mission of peace with superb skill.

. . . . . .

In April, 1944, when visiting Mexico, I noticed that the street where Mr. Morrow had lived is now named after him. And our present Ambassador told me that the relations today between the governments of Mexico and the United States are more friendly and co-operative than ever.

. . . . . .

But now if the North American people want friendship rather than fear to dominate our future relations with Mexico, Latin America, and the rest of the world, we must *not* go in for *peacetime military conscription.* That would be the feeder for a United States military colossus that would give rise to fear and suspicion of our nation far and wide. It would set in motion an arms race that would lead inevitably to World War III.

The time to prevent that disaster is now! Let every lover of peace and humanity write or telegraph to his representatives in Congress and to the President. Let's repeat the performance that turned the tide toward peace in 1927.

Conscription Protests Mounting

(UP) Nov. 14—"Congressional committees were reported receiving a *heavy assortment of mail* expressing views on universal military training with a preponderance of sentiment opposing such legislation. . . . *The mail reaction was said to have convinced some Congressional supporters of* the proposed legislation that action should be postponed until next year to permit further efforts to mobilize sentiment behind compulsory training."

(AP) Nov. 14—"A mountain of opposition has piled up against plans of congressional leaders to seek early action on legislation requiring military training in peacetime. It has become so formidable that backers of the proposal say they would just as soon postpone consideration until some time next year. . . . *Major opposition to the legislation has come from churchmen, educators, and other groups who have flooded the committees with petitions and letters.* Committee spokesmen said indorsements have been received from the American Legion and other veterans' organizations."

It is expected that the American Legion and other groups in favor of peacetime conscription will carry on a really active campaign during December and January, using the press, the radio, and local mass meetings to bring all possible pressure to bear on Congress and the people to approve permanent conscription for military training. During these next two months, then, will come the test of the relative strengths of their forces and ours.

A Philosophy for Post-war Pacifism

By WALTER GEORGE MUELDER*

THE entire world is passing through a revolutionary period. Millions of human beings are restless for freedom, seething with hatred, and demanding radical changes consonant with the ideal verbalizations of the leaders among the United Nations. The prospect, however, even after the November elections in America, is reaction. The naked fact is that genuine revolutions of, by, and for subject peoples and exploited minorities are nowhere encouraged and almost everywhere resisted. Unless the revolutionary energies unleashed around the world in the last half decade are permitted to find creative and constructive expression in terms of rapidly expanding freedoms, self-government, and human equality, the remainder of the present century is bound to resemble a downward spiral, a maelstrom sucking into its vortex of violence more and more of the institutions of civilization.

Pacifism Must Be Revolutionary

Religious pacifism in the immediate future must be thoroughly revolutionary. It must experience a spiritual rapport with that universal yearning and striving for the freedoms. To be historically relevant it must lead in revolutionary action, and must not allow the war, or even coming wars, to become the focus of attention. Though resolute on the issue of violence, pacifists must take a total social revolutionary initiative.

It was inevitable that religious pacifists should be absorbed in problems of the war after the conflict broke into the open and after the arrangements of Selective Service challenged the effectiveness of an adequate peace testimony. The situation of conscientious objectors necessarily placed the pacifist movement on the defensive. An unfortunately large proportion of effort had to go into the defense of the civil rights of thousands of persons. The compromise character of CPS did not lessen, but rather increased, the effort required to protect civil liberties. The war situation has raised serious questions concerning the manner in which the camps have been used, whether they afford an effective peace testimony, whether the compromise with the government's policy was not a betrayal of religious pacifism, whether the prospect for future conscription was not worsened by the acceptance of "alternative service" as a principle, and many analogous problems. On the whole it would seem that the government has outmaneuvered organized religious pacifism, adding to the inevitable defensiveness produced by the war an added strategy of defense. It is important that the focus be shifted from the war to the total social process in a constructive way.

Pacifism Must Unify Its Philosophy

One of the first requisites of our post-war strategy is the broadening and deepening and unifying of the general philosophy of the movement. Much pacifist thought is at present eclectic, a confusion of random bits of non-violent perspectives. Many diverse elements have found refuge under the banners of conscientious objection. Anarchistic and collectivistic points of view have been combined under the negative policy of resisting conscription and war. Pacifists of secular types have found a temporary practical union with religious pacifists. If pacifism is to be effective as a revolutionary force in the post-war world, it cannot be a collection of non-violent odds and ends. There is no creative power in a unity forged out of defensive instruments with contradictory purposes. It must be admitted, of course, that there should always be the maximum of unity and cooperation in practical activity of all groups opposing war and conscription, but real power comes only in unified and positive spiritual purposes. Gandhi, Jesus, Tolstoy, Thoreau, Eckhardt, Emerson, Kropotkin, Raven, Debs, Tertullian, Asoka, Garrison, and innumerable others have made invaluable contributions to pacifism, but their total philosophical commitments are not a coherent whole. Belief in pacifist techniques, for example, does not make one a Christian.

There is a practical place for a variety of pacifisms. There is need for exploratory pacifism. There is urgency for constructive experiments beyond anything so far attempted. But a religious pacifism has functions that a secular pacifism cannot perform. To make its proper contributions this religious pacifism must develop a synoptic and coherent philosophy which operates as a unity in theory and in practice. The chief elements in such a philosophy are the nature and character of God, the character of social groups and the social order, the nature of man, and the methods of social change, including the spiritual training of persons. This is not the place to lay down the regulative doctrines of each of these aspects of religious philosophy. It is important to point out that the pacifist movement in the past has neglected a thoroughgoing philosophy which unifies cosmic context, social and historical process, personal growth, and the methods of all-inclusive good will. If we accept, as the present writer does, the view expressed by Ferré that "the pacifism of radical Christianity confronts our whole actual system with the whole gospel of Christ," then in thought, word, and deed the movement must build a philosophy commensurate with that demand.

False Conceptions Must Be Corrected

Certain tendencies in the philosophy of religion indicate the false starts that must be corrected. In all such cases disjunctive relations are emphasized where reciprocity and inclusiveness seem to be closer to the truth. With respect to the idea of God we are confronted with conceptions that stress transcendence and dualism at the expense of immanence and synergism. The conception of the radical transcendence of God leaves little spiritual security for man and no way whereby faith releases the love of God into the social process. In the literature about trenscendence one notes little use of worship as a foundation of human solidarity and community. With respect to human groups

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the disjunctive philosophies in their "realism" stress social self-interest, group-egoism, and the inevitability of heightened selfishness when the individual joins a community. Instead of perceiving the constructive, security-giving, healing and creative matrix of some types of community, this type of thought makes social self-centeredness a dogmatic universal principle. With respect to human nature the disjunctive philosophies perpetuate the individualistic misinterpretation of man. By a one-sided emphasis on self-transcending freedom as the essence of man, they alienate man from the social bond and from God. The more truly man is himself, the more he is isolated, anxious, and under the judgment of God.

What religious pacifism needs to espouse in opposition to disjunctive thinking is the communitarian quality of human nature, the continuity of life with life. In religion man should find continually those cosmic and social solidarities which make brotherhood and divine sonship a reality.

To those "practical" pacifists who are impatient with theology and wish to get on with the program of non-violent good will, a special word must be directed. Theology and metaphysics are not as divorced from action as is often assumed. Materialistic or atheistic communisms, pragmatic fascisms, and naturalistic nazism are evil not only in their short range programs. The long-range purposes which are only thinly veiled in their cosmologies are of equal seriousness. First principles function as long-time purposes, and the conceptions inevitably canalize the resources of energy and power. Men of diverse philosophies can co-operate for a short time where items in their programs overlap. Sometimes this co-operation is reflected in a revision of philosophical assumptions and principles. But unless first principles are mutually congenial, the long-time processes of history will prove to be full of conflict and contention as the purposes inevitably clash one with another.

Pacifism Is a Way of Life

Religious pacifism is a way of life. In the happy phrase of Allan Hunter it is "saying yes to the light." In developing a philosophy of this way, important contributions are being made by those who are clarifying the terms which are too often confused. Such terms are passive resistance, non-violent coercion, non-violence, soul-force, and the like. All too often it has been possible to define pacifists solely by what they say about violence. But some of the greatest evil in the world is done by non-violent techniques. Therefore, while non-violence is an indispensable aspect of a coherent religious philosophy, its validity comes not from itself primarily, but from the principle of positive love, mutuality, and the grace of God which one shares in human community.

An adequate religious pacifism for the post-war period must engage itself in a six-fold critical self-examination. It must resist a half-dozen temptations:

(1) Pacifists must overcome the temptation of being "one-cause" fanatics. The world, with all the multiplicity of its social and religious problems, is its parish. All great causes are its causes and should engage the serious study which they deserve.

(2) Pacifists must resist the temptation to be "peculiar" people. Those who are experimentally at work in all the constructive agencies of community life have a power and a method to share. Methods of reconciliation, however, are ancient and normal. The war has tended to make conscientious objectors and their friends hug their uniqueness. This self-consciousness is a spiritual problem.

(3) Pacifists must resist the assumption and avoid giving the impression that they possess an "esoteric" knowledge. Despite the war, non-violent co-operative methods have made a tremendous advance in the world. What pacifists do is to conserve those positive methods of co-operation and non-coercive living and thinking which hold society together. Pacifists have faith in the constructive findings of social science, psychiatry, counselling, social work, political science, and economics. Where others falter because of fear of state pressure or because of nationalism, pacifists experiment in those forms of community and those social institutions which conserve the findings of science. Science itself is the world-wide pacifism of the intellect. There is nothing "esoteric" about non-violence. Neither is there anything esoterically Christian about Christian pacifism.

(4) Religious pacifists must resist the temptation of forming a special cult or sect. It is imperative that the movement remain a movement and not become another religious sect competing with others. The most productive expression of the movement is that of an active group within other groups, providing a channel of fellowship and action on an unofficial basis.

(5) They must resist the temptation to spiritual pride. This is an almost inevitable evil because of the price that loyalty to the pacifist ideal often entails. Pacifists are not inherently better Christians than non-pacifists.

(6) Finally, religious pacifism must avoid becoming doctrinaire. The post-war movement must be exploratory and adventurous.

Pacifism Needs a Social Conscience

As a total social philosophy the conscience which has been quickened with respect to war must be equally quickened on every major social issue. There are wonderful evidences which cannot be enumerated here, that this is being increasingly accomplished. Not only is there concern for the making of the peace and the problems of establishing a valid community of nations, but there is concern over the universal Christian community and the creative interaction of the great world religions. Because of the world-wide bases of pacifism and the roots of non-violence in many human cultures and religions, pacifists can be of great assistance in the field of humanity-wide co-operation in this field. They also show a tremendous concern over the conflicts of race, their implications in economic exploitation, imperialism, culture, distance and the like. No less is their growing concern for a social philosophy that grapples realistically with labor-capital relations and worker-employer problems the world over.

Religious pacifism has a future opening into wider and wider vistas as the light which it releases penetrates farther and farther into the social chaos, deeper and deeper into the interior of man, higher and higher into the realms of ultimate spiritual power. The movement must be fearlessly mystical, fearlessly practical, and fearlessly intellectual.

The Power of Non-violence*

By RICHARD B. GREGG

THE history of mankind is so full of selfishness, violence, and cruelty that the possibility of improvement often seems doubtful. The power of intrenched interests is so immense and the energy of organized aggression is so tremendous that it is very difficult to see how gentle resistance plus love could either effectively sap such power or overcome or divert such energy. Are pacifists only naive builders of false Utopias?

Such experiences and doubts call for a searching study of the way and the power of gentle kindness and of firm voluntary suffering in moral resistance to a violent opponent. We must seek to understand the importance of tiny, subtle forces, how they act, and why their cumulative power is so great.

The Forces of Nature

In nature the most important forces are silent. Examples are gravitation, sunlight, electro-magnetic forces, bacteria, the growth processes of plants and animals, the effects of environment. A considerable portion of material forces, such as gravitation, magnetism, heat, electric waves and sub-molecular forces, are, even under the microscope, invisible. Most of such forces, aside from their results, are unperceivable by man's sense of touch. A large number of important foci of energies, such as yeasts, cells, genes, hormones, vitamins, ions and protons are exceedingly small. The operations of many of the forces essential to human life are relatively slow, and, in their effects, cumulative. Instances are the building of soil on which all land life depends, the warming up each spring of the soil and air in temperate climes, the full maturing of human beings, the flowering of a civilization. Many forces which mold human beings, as for example the use of symbols or the desire for social status, are exceedingly subtle, to be appreciated and used only by the most observant. Yet how potent controls have those two forces been in the history of persons, villages, and empires!

In many cases exceedingly small forces can and do markedly influence vastly larger systems or organisms. A quart of oil dripped from the bow of a ship in a storm will, by the action of increased surface tension, prevent huge and very powerful waves from breaking, and this action takes place over a large area. A dilution of the animal hormone called adrenalin amounting to only one part in 250,000,000 will, when injected into the veins of a rabbit, cause a distinct effect on the blood vessels of its ear. The pituitary hormone when diluted to only one part in 100,000,000,000 causes strong uterine contractions in the female animal. The odor of a female Chinese silk moth (Actias selene), although wholly unperceivable by a person directly beside her, attracted to her a number of previously marked male moths released at a distance of 11.6 kilometers (7.2 miles) away.

The ability of a minute force to alter a system which by comparison is very large is most frequently and clearly seen where the large system is complex or delicately balanced. The body of a human being is such a complex and delicately balanced set of forces and, as we know in the instance of hormones, the entire bodily poise, development, health and control is altered by the hormones in exceedingly small quantities. This is also true of the psychic aspect of man. Such subtle entities as hopes, with no apparent basis in facts, will guide and sustain a person or a nation through years of effort or endurance. Think, for example, how the hopes of the Jews have buoyed them up through millenniums of political subjection. Society is a system of many complex forces in mobile equilibrium, and at various times the balance is delicate. It is subject therefore to alteration by minute forces.

In other instances the tiny forces affect the great mass by an accumulation. "Constant dropping wears away a stone." Stimuli far below what is called "the threshold of response," when sufficiently repeated, may cause an accumulative "staircase effect," often quite powerful.

The accumulation may be by way of rhythm. A slight impulse may cause an infinitesimal yielding in a huge mass whose momentum makes it move back like a pendulum into the original position and beyond. As this takes time, the movement has in it the first stage of a rhythm. If the original impulse is applied again at the proper place and instant in the reaction, the first infinitesimal change is increased by a tiny degree. Repetition of this process in properly timed rhythm will eventually cause a very great change in the position of the large mass. Anyone who has enjoyed a swing in a hammock has, in homely fashion, experienced this. Engineers say that the properly timed tread of a cat could destroy a huge bridge.

Thus, many of the most important forces are not perceivable by our crude human senses. Aside from their ultimate results those forces in themselves are not dramatic or adequately appreciated by the majority of mankind. The connection between these imponderable forces and their ultimate effects is often so subtle or distant or slow that we fail to understand the originating forces. Yet, despite the slowness of human recognition, these forces are none the less real and powerful. Radio waves, for example, have always been present in storms, but man learned about them only within the last 60 years. Those who come to appreciate and understand such subtle forces can put them to human use with immeasurable benefit.

Such a slight and subtle but immensely powerful force is the combination of loving-kindness and non-violent resistance.

Response to Stimuli

A great number of biological experiments have shown that living animals respond in one way or another to many kinds of stimuli. Such stimuli may be mechanical, electrical, thermal, chemical, light, changes of atmospheric

* From the book of the same title, being published in a revised edition this month by the Fellowship of Reconciliation. This material is taken from the chapter on "Persuasion," one of three completely new chapters added to Gregg's original volume.

pressure, changes of humidity of surrounding air, smells, food intake, work, glandular secretions, infections, drugs, emotions, and in man, sentiments and thoughts. These researches have also shown that the responses affect one or more of practically all the stimulated animal's organs, tissues or functions, and that the responses occur in phases. There are different kinds of phases. A one-phase or monophase response is in one direction only, say a continuous increase in activity of some sort. A dual phase or biphasic effect is first one kind of reaction and then after a while a reversal to a reaction of just the opposite kind. Cocaine, for instance, in a dilution of 1 : 1000 first constricts the blood vessels of a frog and then dilates them.

Kotschau showed in a wealth of experiments that all responses of living tissues to stimuli could be grouped as follows: a slight stimulus will produce a weak monophasic response; a medium strength stimulus causes a double phasic response which has a stronger effect at the beginning followed by a reversal; while a strong stimulus or a very large dose causes a short, intense effect followed by irreversible injury. As an example of Kotschau's rule, Tanaka found that a small amount of adrenalin put into the blood stream of an animal shortens the time of clotting of blood and this shortening effect continues; a moderate amount of adrenalin at first lengthens the blood clotting time and then shortens it; while a large quantity of adrenalin at first shortens the blood clotting time and then destroys the clotting ability permanently.

Experience as well as laboratory experiment indicates that the stimuli which cause animal organisms to grow are slight, causing a reaction of the monophasic type, and must be many times repeated. Medical experience also indicates that in general the drug stimuli which most effectively and without harmful reactions restore a sick organism to health are also slight, causing a one-phase response without reversal.

Consider the bearing of these observations on our subject.

Development of Potentialities

The believer in non-violence does not assume with Rousseau that all persons at the beginning of their lives are inherently good, nor with Calvin and Barth that they are inherently and continuously sinful with only sporadic aspirations or goodness. He assumes that each person has inherently all the time both capacities, for good and for evil. Both potentialities are plastic. Which capacity will develop and how far it will develop depends on which one is stimulated to cause growth. The vast amount of evil in history has been largely due to the kinds of stimuli to which man has allowed himself to be subject. So the believer in non-violence assumes, on the basis of what seems to be sound historical and psychological evidence that, except for a few congenital mental defectives, every person has in him some tiny spark or potentiality of goodness. This is true no matter how encrusted that potentiality may be with habitual pride, prejudice, hatred, callousness, cruelty, or criminality.

Thus the faith of the non-violent resister in the ultimate flowering of the good potentialities of all people is not a blind or naive faith. It has a solid foundation in the above described intrinsic quality of all living protoplasm—the fact that all living organisms respond to stimuli, and that in the more complex organisms the responses are adapted to the stimuli so as to tend to preserve the species. Adaptation to environment is the large-scale proof of this. In the most complex and delicately balanced organisms, such as man, the response tends to partake of the same quality as the stimulus.

Moreover, as we have already seen, responses are called forth by exceedingly small stimuli, such stimuli as in the moral field would be called gentle.

We have already mentioned the well known biological fact that growth of living tissue is caused not by harsh, violent stimuli, but by prolonged repetition of slight or gentle stimuli. This principle also acts upon man's intellectual faculties. All education, and indeed the growth of civilizations are based on this fact. We assume, for example, that every child has a potential capacity for mathematics. We subject the child to many repetitions of the gentle stimulus of solving mathematical problems in school, the problems increasing in difficulty day after day. After eight or ten years of development under that regime the child can easily solve mathematical problems which to Plato and Aristotle, the wisest men of ancient Greece, were utterly impossible. Part of the advance is due to improved mathematical notation, but much also to thorough use of suitable stimuli. The process of stimulus and response can likewise immensely enhance man's emotional and moral faculties.

Dependability of Growth

Thus, growth in response to gentle, appropriate, and sufficiently repeated stimuli is a sure thing, surer and more enduring than any form of political government, any economic action, or any military campaign. It is as sure as the fact that there is life on this planet. It can be relied upon without any hesitation or doubt.

Dictatorships cannot long grow or endure, because in them the stimuli are not gentle and so are incompatible with the inherent process of growth. That which cannot grow cannot adapt itself, and so cannot endure in this modern world of rapid social changes.

Thus the believer in non-violence is convinced that, because the potentiality for goodness exists in every living person, the potentiality itself is living, is therefore subject to the law of stimulus and response, and hence is capable of growth until, compared with the harmful living factors in any given person, it becomes as strong, or even stronger. This, I think, is what Jesus meant when he told his disciples to forgive seventy times seven—repeating many, many times the gentle stimulus to unity implied by forgiveness.

What Would Jesus Say?

By Robert C. Friend

"Death stalks the path you send them.
Led on by drum and fife,
They draw the sword you lend them—
But I would give them life!

"So they march, life reaching
To wage your bitter strife.
When will you heed my teaching?—
I came to give them life!"

The Second Christmas

By F. K. FORAANDH*

THE reign of unconsciousness slowly gave way to the dim stirrings of intelligence. Little Jesus, one year old, was waking up. Black obscurity—darkness—then a faint glimmer of light. Nothing radiant, glistening, or with form; simply the preface to a shapeful glow. But enough to excite curiosity.

From the outer room Mary the mother could hear if anything were wrong, which was unlikely. Jesus was a peaceful sleeper. But now little Jesus was waking up; waking up in a three-room cabin; a three-room cabin in the darkness of passionless Palestine. He began to recognize the light without much bustle on his part, which is not unusual for an infant of twelve months. Unless alarmed by some sudden interference from without, the senses of a child ascend silently through stratum and ever lighter stratum of unknowingness till finally they bubble gently to the surface of the conscious. Aroused, no doubt, by some abstruse jerk in the machinery of his tiny middle, Baby Jesus moved gently in his little crib—the crib made by the industrious Joseph. With a stifled, imperceptible yawn, he pulled his right arm out from under his chest and rolled over on his back. This demanded another yawn, then his eyes opened.

Immensity! A vast universe! Without floor, without ceiling, without walls. Only tremendous distances in every direction. A dreadful, unknown, terrifying world without even a line of horizon. Alone in space—unknown space—eclipsed, yet not altogether black.

Joseph was insistent on leaving him a nightlamp. But any baby knows that a nightlamp, especially a flickering oil burner, can bring to life more intimidating apparitions than the nothingness of unaided night. Then, suddenly the lonely universe was filled with silent beings. Even by so small, so immature an intelligence as Baby Jesus' these beings were perceived, apprehended. And is it little wonder, for are we not born in the clutch of racial consciousness. And do we not in those waking splinters of time, re-live, re-inhabit the lives of men dead these thousands of years?

Little Jesus, heir on this planet to a life heavily endowed by the shortcomings, errors, and sins of all his myriad forefathers, lay awake in the outskirts of darkness. And though he could not, as yet, be held accountable for the fact, he was also the inheritor of that strong cord of wisdom, beauty, and love which had needled its way down through the ages.

There he lay, in the terror of loneliness peopled with shapes. It was hardly possible for him really to know the shapes; but in his little undeveloped mind he was aware that they were there. In that delicate under-mind handed down from the past, he felt them.

All was stillness—save for an indistinct purr from the nightlamp. Then a sudden flicker of light and all the shadows hiding in the corners bounced to life. Something approached, came close. It couldn't be seen; nothing tangible moved, but those shapes *were* there. They not only lingered over him, next to his delicate cheek, but were at the same time at a great distance, far away, which roused a wild terror in Baby Jesus' poor little unarmed soul.

Flight was the only answer. Nothing but fleeing into the darkness could stamp out those feelings. And turning away, seeking cover, was the only flight possible to a baby. He must put a stop to seeing, and so be no longer there. With a stunted cry that uttered his soul's alarm, little Jesus rolled sharply over and buried his face in warm, soft obscurity. In the fleecy softness of the new birthday-pillow (purchased that afternoon by the never-forgetting Joseph) the baby buried his whole being. He was not. Nothing could seize him now. Those strange shapes could not reach him in that consoling, warm, soft obscurity. No wonder that Joseph had commented on the luxurious quality of the new pillow. It certainly was seducing in its softness. Surely the child must have been uncomfortable on that hard straw bolster of a thing!

Out in the front room the two parents were intent on their usual evening occupation. That is to say, Mary was weaving at her loom, and Joseph sat motionless save for his rhythmic strokes with the file on the saw he was sharpening. Mary was, at the moment, endeavoring to count out the required twenty-five threads necessary for one weave. And except for an occasional secret recollection of the events of "that day" of the preceding year, she was silently filled with an enlightenment of which few women are gifted. Suddenly she looked up. "Did you hear anything, Joseph?" she turned to ask her husband.

"Uh . . . did you say something Mary?" he inquired, a little peevishly, detaching his mind with reluctance from the beautiful chair he was planning to start carving in the morning.

"I thought I heard the baby."

"I didn't," mumbled Joseph, his thoughts already back on the chair.

Mary paused, finished the weave, which, she having miscounted, contained only twenty-four threads. Then she got up from her loom. "I don't suppose there's anything wrong," she said to herself, "but . . . " She went into the sleeping-room.

A couple of minutes passed before she returned. Her face was quite pale. "Nothing wrong, is there?" inquired Joseph, who had sensed her departure from the room.

"He's all right now," was her brief answer. She was a quiet, prayerful woman, never known to make a fuss. Adjusting her stool she continued her weaving. But it must not go by unnoticed that she was, however, shaken up a bit. She realized, and certainly would never forget, what a close call it had been. It is altogether conceivable that she might have merely noted with calm satisfaction the way the child pressed his tiny face into the soft pillow. She might have walked out without realizing that the new possession in which he appeared to take such comfort was actually smothering him! But a flash of intuition had led her to turn his head. Then she had replaced the soft pillow with the hard one, and added this episode to the many ponderings of her heart.

* A Dutch artist who fled from Holland at the time of the blitz; a Quaker and FOR member now living in New Mexico.

When "the tumult and the shouting dies" and "our boys come home again"—

Some Won't March Down Fifth Avenue

By H. ROBERTA WHITE

CHURCHES and denominational governing bodies are peering into the future of the post-war world and making plans for the acceptance back into civilian life of the men who have served harrowing months and years in defense of the principles of democracy. As the returning armies of men come marching down Fifth Avenue to their homes, their loved ones, and the kaleidoscopic existence of the civilian world, they will be welcomed by bands, flag wavings, and shouts of exultation. The churches by that time will have established efficient programs for the absorption of these men into the church's activities, for their rapid and successful rehabilitation, and for their readjustments. The churches will have laid the groundwork for the best of guidance to be given these men in the period following their mustering-out.

But as these hundreds of thousands of men come streaming back into civilian life with their problems, their difficulties, and their dreams, so also will come a much smaller group of men who too will have their difficulties of readjustment. They will not be welcomed by public demonstrations, but members of their families will receive them quietly and gratefully, taking them back into the circle of quiet and strengthening fellowship. They will not march down expansive Fifth Avenue in a blaze of glory. Here and there a smoke-jumper will meticulously fold his parachute for the last time and begin his journey homeward. Human guinea pigs will be restored to health and will climb aboard a train bound for home. Men in the coast and geodetic survey will turn in their maps and charts to the Department of Commerce. Others will leave Civilian Public Service Camps, mental hospitals, training schools, and general hospitals. Grim prison doors will swing laboriously open to release still more. The conscientious objectors of World War II will be returning.

Some of these eleven thousand and more men will bring back with them frustrations, unconscious hostility and disillusionments; others will return with enthusiasm and restlessness to get into peacetime employment and, like many of their brothers of the armed forces, will be filled with anxiousness over the future and the problem of continuing their interrupted education and careers.

The churches are providing for the return of the service men, but what of the plans for the returning conscientious objectors? Some members of the clergy are frank to admit that they do not expect to be faced with the problem of the returning objectors, either because they have had none go out from their churches or because they do not expect them to return to the home church when the war has ended.

Perhaps one of the reasons that so few church leaders are planning any type of program for these returning men of the minority is because the leaders themselves are unaware of the needs of the men in Civilian Public Service and of any specific program to reorientate the men. Representatives of the American Friends Service Committee are finding an amazing lack of information among ministers outside the historic peace churches regarding the beliefs of the objectors and the work in which they are engaged. If this lack of information is common among the clergy, what must the condition be among the laity?

Immediately, the problem of the church and the returning conscientious objectors becomes one of education. Before any post-war program within the church can be proposed and adopted for them there must be an educational process developed as a background to their homecoming.

Educate the Church Members

The first step regards the membership of the church. The at-home group, as an expression of its religious tolerance, must be skillfully led through an educational process to an understanding of the conscientious objector and his principles. The membership must come to realize that for the most part the conscientious objectors today are the results of the teachings of the church and of the application of the principles of Christ whom they also follow. As the membership is led in the understanding of what makes an objector *object,* it need not feel that this learning and understanding constitutes acceptance of the principles.

Before the conscientious objectors return to the church it would be well for the membership to come to know some pacifist who holds a place of leadership in the community, and who will come open-mindedly to the church and explain to the laymen the stand which has been taken by these CPS men of World War II. The guest speaker, well versed in the aspersions cast at the conscientious objectors, should be of keen intellect and full of tolerance, admired by the community, and able to face the give-and-take of an open discussion. The educational process for the church membership might well start with small groups of men or women and eventually be expanded to include the entire congregation, not forgetting the youth, of course.

Coupled with this, some of the laity could be guided to make the request for a session with some man in CPS, either in a nearby camp or detached service unit, who might come to the church and make the acquaintance of the membership in order that they might come to know the current aspects of the CPS program. This would be advisable, even though the church in question had no conscientious objectors among its members.

Important now as never before is the need for fellow Christians to learn to walk together even though they go in different directions. Differences of opinion need not be the turntable upon which they reverse their relationships and sever kinships with those with whom they have been

associated in Christian fellowship. Too many people regard the men with 4-E ratings as "queers." No one who understands the beliefs of the conscientious objector needs to be told that.

Educate the Conscientious Objectors

The other side of this educational process for the returning conscientious objector has to do with him personally and the help that the church can give him. Many conscientious objectors from the last world war will be able to provide assistance in helping both the church and the individual anticipate the adjustment that must be made by the objectors as they return to civilian life.

What then shall be the process of education regarding these men in CPS? What shall be done with those who feel they have been deserted by the very institution that engendered in their hearts or at least solidified their belief in pacifism? Some will have become cynical of the church to the point of being intolerant of the church people who do not agree with them, at the same time failing to realize that their own intolerance reaches the same magnitude as that of the civilian. Members of neither group can see the inconsistency of this intolerance in the light of their Christian beliefs and practices.

Another problem will be that of helping the conscientious objectors to understand the attitudes expressed by the men of the armed forces they meet in the peacetime world, by the chaplains, and by those who have stayed at home.

The Episcopal Church seems to be the pace-setter in this regard. Looking forward to the post-war world, this denomination is now planning to send into all CPS camps ministers or laymen trained in counseling, to make contacts with all Episcopal conscientious objectors, talking with them, discussing and listening to their problems, and helping these men to clarify their thinking or to make adjustments to their situations and to face the future with fortitude.

By such a process of visitation throughout the country the COs will be brought to understand what they will face in the post-war world. They will come to know, for example, that the service man who belittles them for the stand they have taken with regard to war, is perhaps admiring them at the same time for doing the thing he himself was unable to do. They will come to understand that the sympathetic chaplain is the one who himself struggled with the problem of objection to war and became a chaplain as his way of solving the problem.

Help COs Find Employment

The conscientious objectors' problem of employment must become a concern of the church. Whereas the returning service man will have government aid until he finds employment, up to a designated point, and will have government aid in seeking employment or being restored to his old job, no such provision is made for the conscientious objectors. Nor will they have any governmental aid for dependents or hospitalization provided when they are ill.

Many of their attempts to find employment will meet with rebuffs when potential employers ask regarding their service records. The church can help these men by organizing an employment committee composed of persons interested in aiding those returning conscientious objectors who are not planning to go into some type of work on their own, such as farming or continuing their education. Considerably in advance of the close of the war, such a committee would be able to discover employers in the vicinity who would be willing to employ conscientious objectors and "no questions asked."

Give COs Opportunities for Service

Some COs will be entering the ministry or some form of humanitarian service. A writer from England advances the opinion that, since the conscientious objector has taken his stand on his individual conscience, he must complete his stand after the war by devoting himself to society. "He cannot justifiably refuse to obey the call which the nation makes on him unless he dedicates himself to the service of the community for all the tomorrows." Many will want to do that, since in refusing to participate in war they have been acting as much out of concern for the future of human society as out of loyalty to the voice of individual conscience.

The second phase of the program which the church might advance in the post-war world is the channeling of the ambitions and energies of the conscientious objectors so as to help them make the most of their desire for service.

The Northern Baptist Convention has stated its official attitude in the post-war world thus: "We do recognize them (the conscientious objectors) as sincere fellow Christians, and upon their return to civilian life, urge our churches to strengthen the bond of fellowship with them, and to render them the same kind of service in respect to securing jobs and finding a place in the community as we give to those who have borne arms."

Men from civilian public service will be critical of the church program, but by providing channels for their desire to serve and help, the church should be able to win the confidence and make good use of these men. People will one day forget their intolerance and will become actively interested again in a lasting peace. Two CPS men recently expressed their post-war desire to remain in their denomination (Methodist) and to help in the efforts of peace. Said they, "By working in and through our Sunday School, our Youth Fellowship, the Wesley Foundation, the Methodist colleges, and the service and mission programs we have the opportunity of furthering the pacifist way of life where outsiders cannot hope to be effective."

If the churches become aware of the problem of the returning conscientious objectors, and create an effective program, the churches will find that in solving this problem they profit by utilizing the abilities of many men who are ready to contribute their time and talents to the service of society.

War Costs

By Mary Eva Kitchel

Not the grief, nor the graves, is the cost;
Not the creed, if the heart tarries late;
Not the long-cherished loot that is lost—
But the soul that is perished in hate.

Disease and Starvation Now Threatening Europe

"There are worse things than war," Harry Emerson Fosdick has said, "and war brings all of them!" One of these things is homelessness, estimated by the YWCA World Emergency Fund now as affecting 30 million persons. Another is famine, particularly in occupied and "liberated" Europe and in Asia. The American Friends Service Committee and the Peace Pledge Union in England, independent of each other, have sounded the same note of alarm at the prevailing idea, especially in the United States, that things in Europe have been shown by the invasion to be not so bad after all.

According to the Bulletin of the P. P. U., the experts at the UNRRA conference held in Montreal in September found that conditions were worse, not better, than was expected. Governor Lehman, speaking to the Conference, said, "The need is tremendous; its urgency grows apace with the rising tide of liberation." To millions of women and children of Europe and Asia hunger is the central fact of existence.

The distinguished physician and scientist, Professor Pasteur Vallery-Radot, says: "Tuberculosis is increasing in France in alarming proportions. Among children less than 2 years old, 54 per cent suffer from rickets." In a wireless dispatch from Paris on September 20 Paul Giacobbi, Minister of Supplies, said: "The average Parisian now gets barely 1,000 calories daily, or less than half the amount needed." A wireless dispatch from Paris on October 8 stated that between four million and six million persons in France are believed homeless. About 1,500,000 houses have been destroyed or seriously damaged.

The situation is well summed up in a wireless dispatch to the *New Yorker,* appearing in the edition of November 4. A significant excerpt follows: "Fifty-four per cent of the children born in Paris since the armistice, for example, have rickets as a result of the insufficiency of vitamins in their diet, according to Professor Pasteur Vallery-Radot, a physician just elected to the Academie Francais, who has compiled a comprehensive set of statistics on French health today. The death rate in the Paris area is eighty per cent higher than it was in 1939, and cases of serious illness have increased by sixty-seven per cent. . . .

"Deaths among nursing babies from gastro-enteritis have risen fifty per cent. Delayed growth and anemia are general among French children; in Lyon, forty per cent of the public-school children, who are at the age when their rate of growth should be greatest, either lost weight or did not gain during the last school year. Among adults, bones break with sickening ease because of the deficiencies of calcium and phosphorus in the French diet. Somebody once said that the average height of Frenchmen declined by an inch because of the Napoleonic wars; French doctors are now reporting many cases of adults who have lost as much as four inches in height because of the effect of these deficiencies on their vertebrae. These doctors are also familiar with another phenomenon among their clients—a sudden torpor which, after a few hours, becomes a coma; it is due to the deficiency of sugar in the diet."

"The situation in Belgium is summed up in a *New York Times* dispatch of October 29 from Ned Russell: "Last week the food situation reached its crisis in a series of hunger marches with several thousand Brussels women, mostly from the poorer sections of the city, staged in front of the government buildings. There was almost no food to be bought in Brussels—virtually none to be had on the open market and at legal prices. Ration cards were useless. At the same time, the city's gas supply was turned off, so that cooking was virtually impossible. Electricity was available only at night."

A *New York Times* wireless dispatch by John MacCormac, dated October 6, quotes Pieter S. Gerbrandy, Prime Minister of Holland, as saying that the Netherlands is faced with the greatest disaster she has ever known. The next few weeks will decide whether she will be able to continue to play her part in the world of the future as a modern civilized nation. The population of the Netherlands is now threatened with "being starved, frozen and flooded."

Meanwhile a communication from the State Department in Washington declares that discussions are now in progress with a view to arranging outside assistance in the event that any Allied populations are obliged to endure another winter under German occupation. This is good news. Presumably it would apply to Norway, Denmark, and portions of Poland and Holland.

Churches Observe World Order Sunday

Many thousands of churches throughout the United States observed November 12 as World Order Sunday, sponsored by the Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches. The purpose was to quicken the tempo of action by the churches in support of a world settlement consonant with Christian principles.

In its call to 150,000 churches to observe World Order Sunday, it asked that priority be given to the spiritual foundations of the world community. "Regardless of the advances that may be made in the direction of political and economic agreement, there can and will be no lasting peace unless such agreements are permeated by a spirit consistent with the teachings of Christ and implemented by men and women who are actuated by such principles."

Jottings

The Untide Press at Camp Angel, Waldport, Oregon, has sent us "An Importunate Proposition," which we hasten to put before you. The group at Waldport proposes "in all humbleness, aware of our limitations, and acting out of a sense of the need, rather than any assumption of special ability," to collect all the literary efforts of CPS men who have been or are in camp or on detached service, and written before, during or after the time spent in CPS. At the end of the war it is proposed that a collection of the best of this material be published, but that in any case all the writings should be preserved somewhere for later reference. If you have any of the writings of CPS men, forward them to Vladimir Dupre, C. P. S. Camp No. 56, Waldport, Ore.

The first national election of the newly-formed CPS Union took place last month with 16 members, nominated by CPSU locals, competing for 11 places on the General Executive Board of the Union. The new G. E. B. held its first meeting in October to make plans for further CPS organization and activity.

On the occasion of the 20th Anniversary of his call to that church, the Rev. John W. Houck preached, in the Pilgrim Church of New York, a sermon entitled "A Cure for Anti-Semitism." The Pilgrim Church is in the Bronx, whose population has become approximately 80% Jewish in those 20 years. Mr. Houck will send copies of the sermon free to those who ask for them. His address is 1749 Grand Concourse, Bronx 57, New York.

Frances Ransom of the WRL is compiling a bibliography and collecting copies of works of fiction, drama and poetry dealing with conscientious objection and pacifism, which will supplement standard bibliographies of non-fiction references for and about pacifists. If anyone wishes to make use of the information she has gathered she will be glad to share it, and more especially would like to receive additions to the list from anyone who has a suggestion. Room 1025, 5 Beekman Street, N. Y. 7.

After much planning the CPS movie has finally gotten into the production state, the Brethren CPS Bulletin announces. The movie is a joint project of the BSC and the AFSC. Daniel Donchian, formerly of Big Flats, has been named to head up production of the film and has been assigned to this work by Selective Service.

Dr. John Haynes Holmes' birthday letter to Gandhi, read by him at the celebration at Town Hall, is available on a phonograph record from Frederick Mardus, 40 E. 35th St., New York, N. Y.

News from the Peace Front

Peacetime Conscription a Threat and a Challenge

We have a chance to prevent the enactment of legislation which would fasten universal military training and conscription on the United States, or at least to postpone the enactment of such legislation until after the war. It is a real chance. But it will be a tight squeeze. Success depends upon getting all the members of the Fellowship, and all the other forces which can possibly be rallied, to do their utmost in the next few weeks or months—beginning now.

The forces that are determined to enact a conscription law soon after the first of the year, when the new Congress convenes, are formidable. They include President Roosevelt and the national administration which he heads; the leaders of the Army and Navy; the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars; and most of the business interests. And, according to most polls, the majority of the people of this country favor such legislation.

Since the President was returned to office with more power than any other American president has ever had, and such power as few if any persons in all history have possessed, there has been excited speculation as to how he would use his office and power in relation to certain crucial issues. On November 17, says the *New York Times* in a front-page special dispatch from Washington, the President said "that he would press this winter for Congressional adoption of compulsory universal service for the country's youth." Although "he countered questions concerning the degree to which such a system should involve purely military training," the heads of the Army and Navy departments have left no doubt on that point.

Promptly on the 17th the American Legion swung into action in its all-out effort for peacetime conscription, announcing that before January 1 its Executive Committee would call a conference in Washington of its own forces and all others interested "to discuss and agree on the form of legislation for universal military training to be introduced in Congress."

We must beware of any tendency to underestimate the strength, cleverness, and determination of the forces with which we have to deal.

Yet there is hope for a victory on the part of those who believe that enactment of permanent conscription during the war would be undemocratic in the extreme and an admission that the United States has no faith in the world machinery for peace, in the establishment of which our nation is supposedly taking a leading part. In addition to pacifist churches and organizations which are absolutely opposed to such legislation, now or in the future, a formidable number of organizations are now working for its postponement until after the war. These include the Council of Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church, the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches, the Methodist, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Northern Baptist and other denominations, the Educational Policies Committee of the National Education Association, the National Parent-Teachers Association, the Post-War Policies Committee of the American Federation of Teachers, and the twenty-one powerful Railroad Labor Unions. It is hoped that the American Federation of Labor and the CIO may join the ranks, though the powerful Teamsters' Union of the AFL has come out for conscription and the CIO unions which are under Communist influence take the same position. There is some hope that leading farm organizations may come out for postponement.

It is imperative that those who take this position make their influence felt immediately, so that conscription legislation does not get to the floor of Congress. It is generally felt that once it gets on the floor the chances of defeating it will be greatly reduced if not wiped out.

We Are Cooperating

The pacifist forces are probably better organized for such a crisis than they have ever been before. Each of the peace churches and other pacifist bodies has worked out a vigorous program. Through the Peace Strategy Board these efforts are being co-ordinated. E. Raymond Wilson, of the Friends National Legislative Committee, 2111 Florida Avenue N. W., Washington, D. C., is responsible for getting out *Conscription News* at frequent intervals to a limited list of staff workers of the pacifist bodies and to local anti-conscription committees. He also serves as co-ordinator for the workers assigned by their respective organizations to work in Washington, including Dorothy Detzer of the WILPF; Albert Beverage of the NCPW; Frieda Lazarus of the WRL; and John Swomley of the FOR. Frieda Lazarus co-ordinates work with Congress, including hearings when these are held, and John Swomley the field work; and correspondence relating to these matters should be sent to them at 1013—18th Street N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Something You Can Do

1. Familiarize yourself with the arguments. See leaflets advertised on back page.

2. Organize or make contact with a local anti-conscription committee. Often a prominent non-pacifist can be found to head up such a committee which can then draw in all kinds of church, labor, school, and community organizations.

3. Distribute literature—a lot of it, systematically and unremittingly. Local FOR groups should make this an immediate concern.

4. Let your Senators and Congressmen know your views.

5. Bring the issue up in the churches and other organizations to which you belong.

6. *Give your money. Give sacrificially.* Each organization pays its own staff members assigned to work in Washington or elsewhere against the menace of conscription. It must pay the costs of its own literature and its share of literature produced jointly. It must pay its share of the general expenses of the joint work in Washington. *The FOR is therefore under heavy obligations and needs your help at once.* That obligation is to the youth and children of our land, to generations unborn. Whether they will live under a regime of freedom or conscription—of peace or perpetual war—may largely be decided in the next few weeks.

Questionnaire Shows Gap Between Ideas and Action

Opposition to military conscription, race discrimination, and the present prison system is typical of members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, but just how deeply they feel and how effectively they have acted to back up their convictions is something about which we have much less information. To try to help fill this gap, persons attending this year's Northern California FOR conference were asked 30 questions about conscription, prisons, and race, and 111 of those approached filled in the questionnaires.

The returns showed that this group opposes permanent military conscription, opposes both present and future administration of the present CPS program by FOR and the peace churches, is confused as to what personal action its members will take if military conscription is adopted for peacetime, and is divided in attitudes towards non-military conscription. On race questions, two-thirds said they had no prejudice, but analysis of the 13 questions on the subject raises doubts about this, and shows in particular an uncomfortable amount of anti-Semitism.

When the group was asked: "Do you favor laws which would give persons of Japanese ancestry restitution for their evacuation losses?" 97% answered in the affirmative. But only 2% of those had seen their Congressman about it, 22% had "written letters," another 27% had "talked to people," and 49% had "done nothing yet." Giving vent to his feelings, one CPS man underlined his "yes" answer three times and surrounded it with exclamation marks, then went on to say he had done nothing about it. This gap between "what we say" and "what we do" was sharply brought out over the whole range of questions.

Groups Preparing for Church Study Conference

Two commissions of prominent churchmen have been created to study and report on the issues to be discussed by the National Study Conference of The Churches and a Just and Durable Peace, to be convened in Cleveland, Ohio, on January 16-19.

The first of these two Commissions, headed by Dr. William E. Hocking, of Harvard University, will study the existing international situation in the light of the Guiding Principles and the Six Pillars of Peace originally formulated by the Federal Council's Commission on a Just and Durable Peace. The findings of such international conferences as those at Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks will be reviewed and appraised in the light of the Christian ethic.

There will be an analysis of possible peace settlements with special reference to Germany and Japan; of the relation of American domestic policy in matters of race, social justice, etc., to the problem of world order; and a number of other vital questions.

The second Commission will be headed by Dr. Walter M. Horton, Professor of Theology of Oberlin College, and will concern itself with an effort to define the aspects of the Christian faith relative to the problems of peace; considerations involved in support or non-support of intermediate procedures which fall short of the long-range ends to which the churches generally are committed; the place of the churches in influencing public opinion, and the methods that appropriately may be used by the churches in this respect; and other important points in connection with psychological factors in our own faith and Christians which must be taken into consideration in this connection.

FOR Art Teacher Leads Quest for Truth

As an example of what can be done in the public schools by teachers whose point of view is that of the FOR rather than the ROTC, we present the work of Raymond C. Henry, Art Supervisor at Waterford High School in Waterford, N. Y. A four-page folder was produced by students under his direction, the front page of which presents a wood-cut of Christ on the cross, with the legend "Victory—the Hardest Way." Inside is the following message:

" 'Victory—the Hardest Way' suggests the theme of Art Education at Waterford since Pearl Harbor. The quest is Truth and Charity! It ends in a humility that speaks, only to forgive; and in a defense which alone is pain. Thus the ideal, "the hardest way" and the most gallant fight, is alas—realistic! This department is primarily concerned with building in students attitudes the ethical principles which insure a future of lasting peace after men grow weary from the folly of war.

"Art is second only to radio as an instrument for war effort appeal to the public—the visual stimulus of the poster, the illustration and the cartoon, the designer's contribution through mechanical drafting. Art education becomes increasingly part of an 'all out' victory program imperative in the school war curriculum.

"Imperative also is the influence of truth through art education. The teacher must be keenly aware of potential possibilities in art to inspire peace, with man, his brother's keeper. Art presents a major force to minister the ultimate destiny of Christian Love, Creative Living and American Democracy, for the entire world. Education should ever be mindful that 'art is the joy of living as different from the struggle to keep alive.' "

Opposite this message is a second wood-cut which portrays a man helping Christ to carry the cross, with the legend "Humility—For Lasting Victory." And on the back is printed this quotation from Matthew 5:41—"And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain."

Post-war Slump Looms As Profits Multiply

In the October *Conscientious Objector* Max Kampelman cites appalling figures on the deflation of workers' earnings which will occur in the U. S. at the end of the European war. OPA economists estimate that the present 95 billion dollars paid annually in wages and salaries will plunge to 65 billion or less as a result of an anticipated 40% cutback in war production.

The country faces a dire postwar situation unless wage rates are raised above the limits of the "Little Steel" formula and adequate unemployment compensation is provided for jobless workers. It is estimated that under present unemployment laws, benefits will make up only 10% of the wages lost through unemployment in the reconversion period.

Panels of the War Labor Board have submitted reports in substance endorsing the views of labor that the rise in the cost of living has outdated the formula and thus justifies pay raises.

Financial reports of the nation's leading banks for the first six months of 1944 reveal that the resources and profits of these institutions, which own and control the overwhelming proportion of the country's physical and economic assets, have reached a peak unparalleled in the history of the world.

UNNRA to Employ COs

General Bulletin No. 69 of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Association dated September 8, 1944, states that conscientious objectors who have not been inducted into service may be employed by UNRRA or may serve as voluntary relief workers in connection with carrying out the Administration's program, provided they are occupationally fitted for such jobs, that they can obtain occupational deferment, and that the work is such as may be effectively performed by a conscientious objector.

Hold Conference on Revolutionary Pacifism

A Study Conference on Revolutionary Pacifism was held in New York on September 15-17 to consider the basic concepts of revolutionary pacifism, in its political, economic, social and philosophical aspects, and to provide a beginning from which further discussions and studies could be carried on to become the basis for future long-range directions and emphases in the FOR.

Revolutionary pacifism is revolutionary in three respects: it recognizes the need of an inner revolution, the recreation of the human being; of a revolution also in the social order so that the will of God may be done on earth; and of a revolution in method by the renunciation of war and all organized violence. It was agreed that non-violence as a method was distinctive of pacifism, but most agreed that this was not a complete statement. Non-violence itself grows out of our basic convictions as to the nature of life; and since the means determine the end, non-violence as a means has a bearing on the kind of economic and political orders which pacifists seek.

The opinion was expressed that we are entering a period of increasing violence, disintegration and persecution of pacifism, and that all we can do is "keep the flame alive." On the other hand it was pointed out that what has happened in other historic periods need not necessarily happen again. The psychological attitude of the masses toward war is one without enthusiasm and conviction.

There seemed to be agreement in any case that the future will not be one of easy growth for pacifism. Only by action and not talk can we teach pacifism to others and gain the confidence of the masses.

A continuation committee to organize study and discussion of questions that have developed was nominated by the conference and confirmed by the National Council on September 24, consisting of Dan West, Ted Paullin, George Houser, Ralph Budd, Max Kampelman, J. Holmes Smith, Charlotte Bentley, Walter Sikes, Mulford Sibley, John Swomley. The report of the Conference was sent to local groups and peace teams, who are asked to report back to the committee.

Murphy to File Suit

A lawsuit is to be filed in the Circuit Court in Springfield, Missouri, by Stanley Murphy who demands $7,500 damages for mistreatment suffered at the Medical Center for Federal Prisons there. Named as defendants are James V. Bennett, Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, and Ora H. Coxe, former warden.

The action is being conducted by the National Committee on Conscientious Objectors of the American Civil Liberties Union, with Julien Cornell acting as counsel.

Request was also to be made to the U. S. District Court for a writ of habeas corpus to protect Murphy and Louis Taylor from further maltreatment.

Regional Fall Conferences Mark Year of Progress

Regional fall conferences of the Fellowship of Reconciliation were held during the month between the end of September and the end of October in all except the Eastern region which held its conference earlier in the fall. Lack of time and space made it impossible to carry reports of these conferences in the November issue, and so considerable space is devoted to them in this issue.

Midwest Conference

The Midwest Conference was held in Chicago on the weekend of September 29. At the opening session Chester Graham, one of our members who is doing an important educational job with the Farmers' Union, painted an impressive picture of the process of "industrialization" going on in American agriculture and urged us to extend the rural work of the Fellowship. Another of our members, Ruth Seabury, of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, gave beautiful expression to our pacifist faith and the need of carrying our message to the masses of workers of all races.

At the evening session on Saturday the conferees enjoyed a glorious concert by John Raitt, of the Chicago cast of "Oklahoma," Rosa Page Welch, and Mrs. Perry Saito. A member of the National Council of the Canadian FOR, Prof. George Tatham, of the University of Toronto, gave an illustrated lecture on "The International Scene" with a rich background of historical analysis. President Bowman of the Bethany Seminary, which with the First Church of the Brethren entertained the Conference for the third successive year, delivered the sermon on Sunday morning. It was a ringing declaration on the impossibility of reconciling war and the gospel, Caesar and Christ. J. Nevin Sayre and Harper Will, pastor of the church, conducted the devotional service, and the great choir sang inspiringly.

The threat of permanent conscription received detailed attention in the business session and the round tables.

Rocky Mountain Conference

The Rocky Mountain Conference was held in Denver, Colorado, October 6, 7 and 8. Margaret Rohrer's excellent report of the year's activities in the Rocky Mountain area was received with marked appreciation at the dinner meeting in the YWCA, with which the conference began. Nevin Sayre also spoke at this meeting on "The FOR and the Peace." A mass meeting on Saturday evening, in behalf of better treatment for Japanese-Americans, was sponsored jointly by the Denver Unity Council, the Colorado Committee for Fair Play, and the FOR. Dean Paul Robarts, of the Episcopal Cathedral in Denver, and Rev. Galen Weaver, pastor of the Church of the Cross Roads, Honolulu, were the principal speakers. On Saturday afternoon members of the Conference were engaged in various work projects under the direction of Gordon Connelly. The concluding sermon of the conference was delivered by John Nevin Sayre at the Sunday morning service of Shorter African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Southern Conference

On the same weekend the FOR Conference in Nashville attracted about 100 delegates. John Swomley reported upon the work of the past year and conducted the business session. James Farmer advocated a direct action policy of non-violence and good will as a solvent of interracial conflict. Charles Lawrence spoke on "The Task Ahead for the South," and Kenji Okuda on "The Task Ahead for Japanese Americans." On Saturday afternoon the conferees went on reconciliation tours.

The featured speakers for the Saturday evening meeting in Scarritt College Chapel were Norman Thomas and Prof. Georgia Harkness in a discussion of "Foreign Policy and Reconstruction" and "Building a Christian World Order." Dr. Harkness also delivered the Sunday morning sermon at Fisk College Chapel with Dean Faulkner conducting the service of worship.

Northwest Conference

The Northwest Conference was held in Seattle October 13 to 15, and there was no interference with any meetings such as the attempt to howl down speakers at the Friends' Institute of International Relations last June. The conference struck a good note of interracial fellowship by holding its two principal evening meetings with fellowship suppers, on Friday night in a white church, and on Saturday night in a Negro church. The speakers on the first evening were Nevin Sayre and Darlington Hoopes; on the second evening Floyd Schmoe and Erna Harris. The latter, a columnist of the *Los Angeles Tribune*, also gave the concluding address in Fred Shorter's Community Church on Sunday morning. She was much appreciated for her wit, wisdom, and human qualities, not the least of which is courage. Nevin Sayre preached in Trinity Episcopal Church. Another feature of the Conference was the Saturday panel discussion of conscientious objectors from half a dozen CPS Western units. Donald Calhoun led the afternoon discussion on conscription.

Northern California Conference

The Northern California FOR Conference was held in Berkeley October 20 and 21, with the concluding meeting in San Francisco on October 23. Among the speakers were George Reeves, Nevin Sayre, Erna Harris, and Howard Thurman, with Caleb Foote presiding at a majority of the sessions. There was a fine attendance of men from CPS camps, and the conference got down to brass tacks in setting up provisions to help with demobilization of COs. Financial and housing aid were envisaged as first steps in a long-range program. The group, composed almost equally of men from CPS camps and residents of Northern California, after two long sessions, hammered out a three-point program and selected a committee to carry it out.

The immediate program involves setting up a housing and employment center, raising of a loan fund from which any discharged CO can borrow for immediate needs during the transition period, and the creation of a regional credit union. The latter will serve as place for pacifist savings to be deposited, and will enable COs who are anxious to go into farming or small business to obtain the necessary capital.

Pacifists in Northern California are eager to attract men now in CPS and prison, not from any maudlin sense of charity or "service to our boys," but because they realize that only through the infusion of this new blood into their communities can an ongoing pacifist philosophy be developed. Such aid for demobilized COs as is now envisaged is the first part of a permanent program which will seek to get pacifists into creative vocational fields, and make the vague theory of "mutual aid" a concrete reality.

Two plans coming up for wide discussion at the conference were put forward by Robert MacLane, ex-Cascade Locks CPS, and George Burcham, California co-op leader and expert on migrant labor. Running roughly parallel to one another, these plans call for settlement of small groups of pacifists throughout the state, with a concentration in the Bay area, and for co-ordinated efforts with like-minded people to create a strong and well integrated movement.

Southwest Conference

The Southern California and Southwest Conference of the FOR was held October 27 to 29 at Pasadena. Professor Walter Muelder gave the conference an inspiring lead in his keynote address on revolutionary pacifism. Kirby Page climaxed the meetings in his Sunday morning sermon, and David Walden summed up conclusions in the final meeting. Other speakers featured in the sessions were William C. Carr, Stephen Clark, Erna Harris, and Nevin Sayre. The meetings were held in the beautiful Negro Scott Methodist Church. On Saturday night there was a Fellowship dinner and folk dancing. The conference devoted two sessions to peacetime conscription.

Help Wanted

The National FOR office is in urgent need of experienced stenographers and typists and other office workers.

Any FOR member who is interested, or knows of other persons who might be available, is urged to wire, phone, or write immediately to Irene L. Ford, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

The Peacemaker's Bookshelf

Prayer

A Preface to Prayer. By Gerald Heard. Harper & Brothers. 250 pages. $2.00.

This is an exceedingly valuable book for at least two reasons. In the first place, it deals with the subject of prayer in an objective and scientific way so that it addresses those who like the author at an earlier period have ceased to pray or believe in prayer right where they now are in their thinking and carries them by cogent argument to the point where they can again believe in prayer and must accept it as one of life's most important, if not the most important, needs and activities. In the second place, it provides the many who want to pray, but feel that they do not know how, many useful concrete suggestions as to how to go to work.

The book begins with a discussion of three current explanations of prayer and its results: first, that prayer is autosuggestion; second, that prayer is "guidance and supply" to those who do not care for theories and explanations and are immensely satisfied with the results they achieve through it; and third, the Roman Catholic view, about which Heard has something fresh and very important to say for an age when sensitive intellectuals tend to turn to this church.

The Roman Catholic Church has produced "experienced practitioners" of prayer and a great body of teaching regarding its methods. Because these are so useful it is argued that the dogmas and the authority of the church which has produced them must be accepted. Heard contends that the considerations on which this conclusion is based are not valid. For one thing, "the saints had little to do with the running of the organization, while those who ran it were often as extremely bad as the saints were good. Many of the popes were not merely hard businessmen—they were criminals." Moreover, "the present political activities of the Roman Church have to be increasingly opportunist." Anyone "joining the Roman Catholic Church is joining an active, embarrassed, diplomatically involved body." What we have learned of sainthood and prayer in Vedanta, Mahayana, Buddhism, and Taoism disposes of Benedict XIV's contention that "Christian sanctity alone can produce supreme holiness, such holiness that Christians, and none others, can suffer and yet love their enemies."

The main body of the book is devoted to an exposition of the three kinds of prayer: Low or petitionary; Middle or intercessory; and High prayer in which man realizes that "consciousness is fundamental and events and things are symptoms of and obvious resultants from that all-pervading consciousness."

In an unpublished article Ralph Templin raises an important question here. Gerald Heard, he suggests, regards evolution as a development from the unconscious to the conscious to the super-conscious or truly self-conscious. This leads him to gather "a group around him to practice the technique which he has set forth for the development of the higher self-consciousness." Kagawa represents, Templin suggests, another and sounder type of mysticism. He gathers about him his "Friends of Jesus," a Franciscan-like third order. "He pours out his life for the poor, organizes cooperatives, teaches poor peasants how to cure their own ham and bacon, shows Japan the value of free crops." For Kagawa it is not super-consciousness, but the "conscience of man" which "is the sword-point of evolution."

I believe there is a point here which warrants very careful consideration. However, Heard in *A Preface to Prayer* makes it clear that "there is no private salvation" and the emphasis on achieving a new level of consciousness "is not to say that the goal of man is not service or is not unlimited service."

Heard has one or two beautiful observations about the church which I wish to quote in closing. "The union of all who pray and who by prayer grow in love and understanding may yet prove to be the basis of that universal Church which is mankind's hope." And again he speaks of "the true Church Universal, that unbroken succession of holy men bound in love and peace with one another through their common love of God, that comprehensive and undying society which may claim to be inerrant."

A. J. M.

Prejudice

Prejudice: Japanese-Americans, Symbol of Racial Intolerance. By Carey McWilliams. Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1944. 328 pp. $3.00.

Carey McWilliams' second book on race relations deals with Japanese-Americans. Beginning with the year 1900 he sketches the history of anti-oriental agitation in California. Labor unions, politicians, newspapers, the Native Sons of the Golden West, the American Legion, and certain business interests all had their share in securing the passage of the Oriental Exclusion Act which for a long time had been the goal of racial agitators. Prior to that there had been segregation in the San Francisco schools, an alien land act forbidding aliens to own land, an alien poll tax bill, and frequent accusation in the daily press. The military party in Japan used these incidents in California to arouse their own countrymen. The author then drives home the point that "The main reason for popular Japanese suspicion of American policy consisted in our domestic policy toward the Japanese."

In his discussion of the evacuation of Japanese-Americans from the Coast to assembly centers the author is of course sharply critical of the prejudice which forced the evacuation. But although he disapproves the evacuation, he emphasizes several times that "the acquiescence of the Japanese in this singular procedure was wholly admirable." Gordon Hirabayashi's refusal to register for evacuation was barely mentioned. One might at this point remember the respect for law held by most lawyers and public officials. Carey McWilliams is a lawyer who once held an important state office. There is no mention of the terrible conditions in most of the assembly centers, but there is a sympathetic description of the W. R. A. resettlement centers. One wonders if the treatment of the process of evacuation and resettlement is not too sympathetic until one reads the excerpts from the letters of those who went through the whole experience. Several times there is mention of the great help of private agencies but no description of their work and no identification of them. Is this because the private agencies are religious groups? The only mention of religious influence in the book is derogatory and deals with missionaries who are pro-Japanese.

Since the evacuation there has been a campaign of hate on the West Coast aimed at preventing the return of Japanese Americans and aimed also to arouse bitter feeling against everyone in Japan. The Dies Committee, the Hearst Press, the American Legion, and many others are responsible for the agitation.

In discussing what can be done about the anti-Oriental attitudes on the coast Mr. McWilliams points out that it is but symbolic of the race prejudice which we see all over the United States. He therefore advocates a Federal policy of no discrimination in voting, in employment, immigration, etc. He also advocates creation of a Federal agency to deal with the problem of race-relations everywhere in the country.

The concluding pages of the book discuss Japan. There are liberals in Japan who do not accept the militarism and dictatorship of the ruling group. A revolution is even possible, especially if Japan is defeated in the war. Therefore we must not hate all Japanese and permit blind prejudice to govern our attitude toward Japan.

Prejudice is, on the whole, an excellent survey of the race problem on the West Coast. It is informative, objective, but yet clinching the case for reform in our race policy. The chief criticism is one of style and arises from the author's quoting so often from newspapers, magazines, and books. The book is a must for those who want to get a clearer picture of prejudice as it affects not only the West Coast but our entire foreign policy.

J. M. S., Jr.

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